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it is considered, that, during that time, the wages in Boston and most of the larger towns have continued nearly the same, and that two of the counties have made no change, a very favorable one is indicated in the smaller towns elsewhere.

The average of the time of keeping schools has increased from seven months and four days to seven months and ten days, a full week for each school in the State.

The amount raised by taxes, &c., has increased from \$ 447,809 to \$ 477,221 ; and the amount contributed, from \$ 31,934 to \$ 37,269 ; while the aggregate paid for the tuition of private schools and academies has diminished nearly in an equal rate, from \$ 270,462 to \$ 241,114.

The whole amount raised or contributed for the support of public schools has increased from \$ 479,744 to \$ 514,490.

The whole amount paid for schools, public and private, has increased from \$ 817,217.24 to \$ 828,334.66.

ART. VIII.—1. *Address, delivered before the Charitable Irish Society, in Boston, March 17th, 1837.* By JAMES BOYD, President of the Society. Boston. 1837.

2. *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, illustrated. The Literary Department* by N. P. WILLIS, Esq. Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4. London. 1840.

3. *The Token, and Atlantic Souvenir, for 1840.* Edited by S. G. GOODRICH. Boston.

4. *The Pilot* Newspaper ; for the Years 1838, 1839, and 1840. Boston.

5. *The New York Freeman's Journal.* Scattered Numbers. 1840.

6. *The Spirit of Seventy-Six* ; New York Newspaper. Number 1. November, 1840.

7. *The Native American* ; New Orleans Newspaper. Scattered Numbers.

THE subject which we have here undertaken to discuss, is one of serious importance, and it is also, in common parlance, one of great delicacy ; that is to say, one which involves many of the conflicting tastes, passions, and prejudices

of this great community. But there is a false, as well as a real delicacy, in politics as in morals. The former species would possibly lead a public writer to eschew such a topic as this. The latter kind impels us to venture on it discreetly, to the best of our judgment, but, at the same time, boldly. We admit that the subject has a sting in it ; and, remembering the metrical recipe for most effectually plucking a nettle, we comply with the advice of the quaint old author, and

“ Seize it like a man of mettle.”

But, aware of the opposing interests at stake, we cannot expect to please all parties as we proceed ; and we shall be lucky, if we satisfy completely any one individual. We do not attempt our task with the view of making proselytes. We hope, however, to afford information, such as may at least induce others to reflect as seriously as we have done, if it does not lead them to similar conclusions.

It is not a little extraordinary that a theme of such abounding interest has not, as far as we can recollect, attracted the attention of any of the writers of books upon this country, beyond some passing allusion, although it has called forth much observation and animated, not to say angry, discussion from newspaper contributors. There are, in fact, several journals throughout the Union established expressly for the examination of the question embodied in the title of this article, in all its complicated bearings ; and societies have been formed, of both native Americans and naturalized Irish, for the promulgation of opinions in relation to it, reciprocally positive and diametrically opposite. But it is not from the effusions of party writers, whose ardor, too often both violent and illogical, either distorts or confuses a great question, that its calm developement may be looked for. He who would fully and fairly survey so intricate a subject as this, must stand on neutral ground, and on that elevation which impartiality alone can afford him. We may be self-deceived in believing that such is our position ; but could we, without seeming irrelevant, or perhaps impertinent, enter into some details personal to ourselves, our readers would probably concede the claim which we put forward. We are, however, conscious, that, in proportion to the absence of all motives of self-interest, there may exist a want of the prompt and keen perception of minutiae,

which self-interest alone creates. But if such deficiency is balanced by a broader comprehension of the general merits of the case, it may fare better in our hands, than when treated by some of the talented partisans, whose *ex parte* ebullitions are before us.

In a late number of our Journal,* we endeavoured to attract attention towards the state of Ireland in its present aspect of regeneration, and we gave some passing sketches of its modern history, with extracts from the work of an able and recent traveller ; enough, we are sure, to have excited a strong sympathy in favor of its inhabitants, and a more lively interest in those who, under happier auspices than heretofore, might take the decisive step of emigration, and become settlers and citizens in the United States. We promised, on that occasion, to recur to the subject in its relations to this country ; and, in now proceeding to redeem our pledge, we consider it necessary to offer some general considerations as to the Irish character, as well as to its capabilities of adaptation to the peculiar influences of the political and social institutions of this country. It is not, however, our intention to enter on an elaborate disquisition resting entirely on our own opinions. The notions of a single writer may not happen to square on all points with the combined ones which enter into the conduct of a journal like ours ; and the conventional “We,” of an individual more frequently sets a restriction on, than it allows a latitude to, private views. Sympathies and antipathies as to men and things, depending on temperament or chance association, are more potent than the sober results of judgment, in a case which must be more or less a personal one. With this conviction we prefer citing the opinions of others, to giving our own ; and we shall exclude those put forth in their own country by native Irishmen, of different religious sects and political parties ; for, as a general rule, on which we may possibly find some future occasion to dilate, we hold that it is by foreigners alone, that the moral characteristics of any nation can be accurately ascertained.

But it will not be required, at this time of day, to revert to the opinions of “the ancients,” ignorant and superstitious as they were on most points of geographical science foreign to their immediate localities, and unenlightened as to the inhabitants of a

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI, pp. 187 *et seq.*

distant island, the report of whose existence was considered as almost fabulous. The Phœnician navigators and merchants, who had pushed their enterprise as far as the Atlantic, secured their monopolies of trade by concealing the real nature of the islands of the West, which were, in consequence, made the scenes of vague imaginings by the Greek poets, who there placed their Elysian fields, their Hesperides, and the Isle of Calypso, creations of fancy, founded on a reality long afterwards established. In the "Argonautics," a poem written five hundred years before the Christian era, Ireland is mentioned without any reference to Britain ; and, about two centuries later, both islands are noticed under their original Celtic names of Ierna, or Juverna, and Albion. It was not till about this period, that the Greeks made voyages to the British Islands, though the Phœnicians had traded to them for many centuries. It appears from the poems of Avienus, who, in the fourth century, had access to some Punic records in one of the temples of Carthage, that a Carthaginian, named Milcho, made an expedition to Ireland about three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and, on his return, gave a particular account of the country. It is to be remarked, that he speaks more particularly of Ireland than of Britain. He describes the hide-covered boats, or *curracks*, in which the inhabitants navigated their seas ; and he speaks of the populousness of the isle of the Hyberni, and of the turfey nature of its soil.

From scattered testimonials like these, there can be no doubt that, though the earliest population consisted of Celts, the Phœnicians had established colonies in Ireland, and introduced their religious rites and ceremonies into the country, long before the Christian era. But although the records of Greek and Roman writers are valuable, as far as they establish the remote antiquity of the Irish race, we should as soon think of admitting Lord Roden's folios,* or Lord Powerscourt's pamphlet,† or the publication of any other rabid Orangeman of the present day, as authorities on the disputed points of Irish character, as we should gravely quote the more excusable monstrosities of some of the authors of old.

* *Report of a Select Committee of the House of Lords on Crime in Ireland, following Lord Roden's Motion.* 4 vols. 4to. London, 1839.

† *Essay on the State of Ireland*, by Lord Powerscourt. London, 1840.

"The Irish live on human flesh, and think it a duty to eat the bodies of their deceased parents," says Strabo, book IV.

"When they gain a victory, they first drink the blood of the slain," says Solinus, c. xxiii.

These passages out-Roden Roden, and at any rate prove the startling sympathy between by-gone fiction and new-fangled fanaticism.

Had Ireland had the advantage of being subjected by Rome, as Britain was, she would have been long since known to the rest of the world in her true colors, and refinement would have taken earlier root in her social habits, as fertile in all times for the fruits of civilization, as her plains have been for those of husbandry. To be conquered, but not crushed, by an enlightened nation, is the greatest blessing that can befall a savage one. But Ireland unfortunately found no Cæsar to subdue, no Agricola to colonize, no Tacitus to describe her. No Roman ever planted a hostile foot on her shores ; and she went on, from century to century, in isolated obscurity, with the poor consolation of certain after-claims for learning and virtue, that are at best apochryphal, and too often a by-word for ridicule or doubt.

When Englishmen began to know something of the people who had been so long their neighbours, and of whom they at length so easily made a prey, an astonishing unanimity of sentiment was expressed concerning them. Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, bore striking and pithy testimony, in a sentence as terse and comprehensive as one of Tacitus himself, to the energy and sincerity of the Irish of his times, — two of the noblest qualities in a half-savage people. "If an Irishman be a good man, there is no better ; if he be a bad man, there is no worse."

Improvement was rapid and great.

J. Good, an ecclesiastic, in 1566, gives his descriptive evidence as follows ;

"In general this people are robust and remarkably nimble ; of bold and haughty spirit ; sharp-witted, lively, prodigal of life ; patient of want, heat, and cold ; of amorous complexion ; hospitable to strangers, constant in their attachments, implacable in their resentments ; credulous, greedy of glory, impatient of reproach and injury ; they think it the highest wealth to live without work, and *the greatest happiness to enjoy liberty.*"

The lapse of nearly three centuries has made small change in the leading traits of this admirable analysis.

Lord Bacon, in one of his powerful and sententious paragraphs, says ;

"This island is endowed with so many dowries of nature, considering the fruitfulness of the soil, and especially the race and generation of men, as it is not easy to find such a confluence of commodities, *if the hand of man did join with the hand of nature.*" — *Works*, Vol. III. p. 321.

More modern English writers, — Cobbett, Inglis, Wakefield, and others, — bear out the character given by those of old. Mr. Weale, of the office of Woods and Forests, in his evidence before the House of Lords, declares that "there is the finest possible field in Ireland, for the exertion of skill and the employment of capital." And he adds, that "he had never met with peasantry who are *as well disposed as the Irish* to exert themselves for the provision of a maintenance."

The late Mr. Sadler, an eminent member of the House of Commons, exclaims ; "The natural capacities of Ireland are unrivalled, so are those of its people, though both be uncultivated, abandoned, and abused. In the character of its inhabitants are *the elements of whatever is elevated and noble.* Their courage in the field has never been surpassed ; their charity, notwithstanding their poverty, never equalled."

These extracts prove the difficulty of separating a consideration of the country itself from a notice of the people, and we shall add only a couple of quotations from celebrated authors, far removed from each other in date, which have reference to the capabilities of the soil alone.

Edmund Spenser, the great poet, whose long residence in Ireland gave him good opportunities for knowing the country, but whose severity of feeling towards the natives, as indicated in his "*View of Ireland,*" removes all suspicion of his being a too partial witness to the merits of their birth-place, writes of it in the following strain ;

"And sure Ireland is yet a most sweete and beautifull countrie as any under Heaven, being stored throughout with many goodlie rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantlie, sprinkled with many verie sweete islands and goodlie lakes, little inland seas that will carry even shippes upon their waters ; adorned with goodlie woods, even fit for building of

shippes and houses, as that if some princes in the world had them they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long, of all the world. Also full of very good ports and havens open upon England, as inviting us to come into them to see what excellent cominodities the countrie can afford ; besides the soyle itself most fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde offruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the East."

And Malthus, who could scarcely have looked with a favorable eye on a population whose every cottage offered a practical dissent from his peculiarly un-Irish theories, still conscientiously bears witness, that "Ireland might be made a more rich and prosperous country than England is, in proportion, in consequence of *its greater natural capabilities.*"

After having stated so much of undoubted fact, on such authorities, we do not think it necessary to dwell on points which may not bear the same authentic stamp. But the absence of all venomous reptiles from this island, for which God has done so much and man so little, is a feature so remarkable, that it must not be silently passed by. Without claiming for St. Patrick the merit of having driven out thiose plagues, (there being no evidence that they ever existed in "the Emerald Isle,") it is enough to know, that English writers, centuries back, remarked and recorded the peculiarity. "*Nullus ibi serpens vivere valeat,*" was the expression of the venerable Bede ; while Camden says, "*Nullus hic anguis nec venenatum quicquam.*"

Coming down to our own days, and to travellers from a country not known to the authors we have just cited, we find that a popular American writer, Mr. N. P. Willis, has latterly visited and written about Ireland ; and the opening sentence of the first number of his work pays the following lively tribute to the country and the people ;

"The prominent association with the name of Ireland, is that of a prolific mother of orators, soldiers, patriots, and poets. Out of sight of the froth that is thrown up from the active cauldron of her political evils, and out of hearing of the squabble and fret, the jibe and jeer, the querulous complaint and the growling reply, which form the perpetual undertone of English news, the inhabitant of other countries looks at the small space Ireland occupies on the map and counts her great names, and reads her melancholy, but large and brilliant page

in history, with wonder and admiration. Whatever horrors the close-seen features of her abortive revolutions may present, and whatever littleness may belong to the smaller machinery of her political intrigues, conspiracies, and the like, the distant eye reads, in the prominent lines of the picture, an *undying love of liberty, and an untamed and restless energy of genius and character.*"

How much more true to fact and to history is this summing up, than the assertion of Mr. Carlyle, that "Ireland has been in a chronic atrophy for five centuries back ;" * an assertion which, although perpetrated in plain English,—a rare accident on the part of the author,—is any thing but plain sense, in the teeth of the desperate activity displayed by Ireland from the invasion by Strongbow to the rebellion of 1798, of the mighty agitation which carried Catholic emancipation in 1829, and of the sublime temperance movement under the guidance of Father Mathew, at the very period when the author put forth his *ex cathedrâ* crudity. It is to be regretted that Mr. Willis has not followed up his promising paragraph by matter more worthy of it and of him, than the bald and revolting sketches of men and pigs, which form the staple of his "illustrations of scenery and antiquities." We ought not, indeed, to expect every tourist to be a philosopher because he is peripatetic, nor reckon on good taste as the certain accompaniment of talent. But we do wish that this author, instead of lavishing his vivacious powers upon petty details of dress and appearance in the present population, had been imbued with the feeling which prompted the benevolent Peter Parley (for every one knows Mr. S. G. Goodrich by that name,) "to prove that the Irish have generous hearts ; that they are a noble race, injured, wronged, and often degraded, but for these very reasons entitled to the sympathies of mankind ; and that, on the score of intrinsic qualities, they have strong claims to the respect of the world."

— *The Token for 1841, Preface*, p. 5.

Such, — and we might multiply authorities to almost any amount, — are the people of Ireland, who, independent of those powerful claims to consideration, present an almost unique example (the Jews and the Gypsies might be cited as in a great degree similar) of a nation retaining for full three

* Carlyle's *Chartism*, p. 30.

thousand years the distinguishing thoughts, feelings, customs, and language of their ancestors. Indubitable proofs of their antiquity, besides those already cited, are to be found in their annals ; and in reference to those annals, lately published, a late eminent English writer, Sir James Mackintosh, says, “The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, possess the fullest evidences of exactness. The Irish nation are thus entitled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in its present spoken language.” And, viewing them in this aspect, — a colony, as it were, of ancient Celts transferred from antiquity into our immediate presence, with the same blood in their veins, the same physical characteristics, and speaking the same language as those who existed, even before the time of Solomon, — we can understand the enthusiasm of the writer who exclaims ;

“I know not how it may strike others, but to me this subject is full of interest. How is it to be accounted for, that of all the numberless millions that must have passed from Asia into Europe, under the general name of Celt, everywhere but in Ireland they should have been supplanted by other tribes, their national existence obliterated, and their language for ever blotted out ? It would be impossible to solve this query, but upon the supposition of a native vigor of character in the Irish, as well physical as moral, which perpetuates itself from age to age, resisting and overcoming the influences of time. And, if this be true, does it not imply something of greatness in the native Irish stock ; something distinct, peculiar, and worthy of our respect in the Irish people ? I confess that I cannot look upon even the rudest specimen of these people, that we see among us, but as associated with these views. Ignorant and unlettered they certainly are, superstitious they may be ; but I can never look on them with indifference or contempt. I must ever regard them as allied to the memory of ancient days ; as bringing antiquity, living and breathing, into our presence ; and, above all, however shadowed by the degradation that is entailed by slavery, as possessing, in common with their nation, the inherent elements of greatness.” — *The Token for 1841*, p. 85.

The article, from which the foregoing extract is made, formed, as we learn from a note, the substance of two lec-

tures, originally prepared by Mr. Goodrich, at the request of the committee of the "Franklin Lectures," in Boston, and delivered before that association at "the Temple," in that city ; and the lectures were subsequently delivered on several occasions in New York or elsewhere. We cannot speak too highly of the good spirit which pervades this whole composition, evidently the result of much reading and of mature reflection. Independent of the gratifying evidence it affords that this subject, of Ireland and the Irish, has begun to attract the proper sort of attention among our literary and scientific men, it is really cheering to find the learned editor of an Annual devoting one half of his volume to an essay of sterling value and full of important information, to the exclusion of the ephemera that generally flutter in the pages of such publications. We shall have occasion, by and by, to quote further from Mr. Goodrich's article ; and we are, in the mean time, glad to record, that, at the late "Commencement" of Harvard College, the subject of one of the exercises of the students who graduated on that occasion was an "Essay on the Irish Character." The young gentleman who recited this essay, before a large audience composed of some of the most enlightened citizens of the country, was the son of one of the Judges of the State ; and we can bear witness to the applause warmly given to the speaker, certainly not more on account of the merits of his spirited production, than from sympathy with its cordial sentiments towards our Irish fellow citizens.

"When we send our glance back through a long line of centuries," exclaimed this generous youth, "each of them swelling the mighty heap of Ireland's wrongs, our prejudices relent. Our sympathies are awakened for the unhappy beings whose wretched aspect and reckless bearing have at first been so repulsive. We fancy there is more than meets the eye beneath their rough exterior. If we take the friendless exile by the hand, no angry scowl repels our glance, no sullen murmur strikes upon the ear ; but a smile of confidence lights up the stranger's haggard face. He tells us of the old country which it cost him tears to leave. He paints the hopeless misery into which he was sunk, and of which he seems to stand before us as the visible emblem ; and we wonder, not that he is no better than he is, but that he has come out clear as he has from the furnace fires of such affliction. From century to century the fetters of a moral slavery have left a

festering wound, and corrupted the dignity of his nature. But whatever faults may be charged on the Irishman, his worst enemy dare not call him selfish. The virtues of hospitality and generosity cast light upon the gloom of his desolation, like flowers springing from a heap of mouldering ruins. Misery seems only a nursery for the growth of his fine sympathies. And laugh as you may at the humble *shantee*, you shall learn within its walls lessons of magnanimity and self-denial not to be found in the mansions of the wealthy and refined. In one word, the sin of the Irishman is ignorance,—the cure is Liberty. Let her but come, to wipe from the Emerald gem the dust which for ages has obscured it, and to place it sparkling in the sunlight ; let her wake again the lyre that trembled to the touch of Emmett, Curran, and Grattan, and in the light of her pathway shall be seen Education, to break the fetters of the slumbering soul, and call out its hidden glories ! And will not the heart of America beat with that of Ireland, as she hails the new dawning light ? Yes, Ireland, America's eye is on thee. Show us, then, in thy new career thine own native character, purged from the dross with which the long night of oppression has darkened it. In the noble generosity of thy sons, put to shame our narrow, selfish, worldly maxims. Show us a race of whole-hearted men.”

Ireland has strong claims on the good will and affection of America. Let it be remembered, that, when the war of Revolution broke out, the inhabitants of Belfast, in the north of Ireland, were the very first European community,—the Court of France does not come under that classification,—that gave open expression to their good wishes, for the American cause. Public meetings, quickly following the first, were held throughout the country to encourage the transatlantic resistance ; and, as the contest went on, Ireland, catching inspiration from the example of the New World, took that noble attitude of resistance which gained for her in 1782, under the guidance of Grattan and his patriot associates, the legislative and commercial independence which was destined to so short a life. But from that period of a common sympathy,—which ought not to be affected by success or failure,—Irishmen have never ceased to look towards America with ardent affection ; loving the people who won the freedom for which they vainly sighed and valiantly fought ; and regarding this country as the natural haven for hopes, too often shipwrecked in the tempest of hard fate that assails their native land.

Any one who has ever travelled in Ireland, not merely with eyes to see her wretchedness, but also with ears to hear her aspirations, must have remarked the enthusiastic feeling that exists towards America among all classes save the Orange aristocrats. By the less elevated ranks, the small farmers, artisans, and peasantry, the United States are considered as a sort of half-way stage to Heaven, a paradise, whither some of the kindred or friends of almost every family have already repaired ; and whence they receive accounts, that, even when unexaggerated or falling short of the truth, paint this new found home, in comparison with their own domestic misery, as the very *El Dorado* of Spanish romance.* Infants suck in, as it were, with their mothers' milk, this passionate admiration of the New World. They are cradled in eulogiums on its excellence. Its praises are the lullaby of the child. The boy is taught to venerate its greatness ; and the man believes, talks of, and sighs for its far-off shores, with a fervid admiration that knows no bounds.

The poetic mind of the Irishman, his warm heart, his ambitious temperament all unite, to give the colors of enchantment to the fairy-land he pants for. The beauty, the affection, the glory he pictures to himself, form the rainbow arch of the new covenant, which Heaven seems to have made with the poor exile. Long before he trusts his fate upon the ocean, he sees America, in the visions of the night as well as in his day-dreams, more verdant than his own green fields, more fertile than the valleys, more sublime than the mountains. But, above all things, he reckons with too ardent security, on an ardor equal to his own, in the noble race with which he has peopled his fancied elysium. Often do his sentiments literally and unwittingly respond to the exclamation of Miranda, in "*The Tempest*" :

“ How beautiful mankind is ! O brave New World,
That has such people in it ! ”

* “ The Irish, on their arrival in America, cannot believe their own eyes ; they feel as though under a spell. They do not dare to describe, to their friends in Europe, the streams of milk and honey that flow through this promised land.

“ An Irishman, who had recently arrived, showed his master a letter which he had just written to his family. ‘ But, Patrick,’ said his master, ‘ why do you say that you have meat three times a week, when you have it three times a day ? ’ ‘ Why is it ? ’ replied Pat ; ‘ it is because they would not believe me, if I told them so.’ — *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States*, by MICHAEL CHEVALIER. Boston. 1839.

Every thing relating to the revolutionary struggle has a thrilling interest to the people of Ireland. It is not merely for the memory of their own countrymen, Montgomery and others, who heroically fell or conquered in the cause of freedom, that they retain regard. The name of Washington is held in a reverence without limit. Who can read the following anecdote, recorded by Mr. Hackett, the comedian, without a cordial longing to grasp the hand, and share the emotion, of such men as composed the audience of the Dublin theatre?

"The first night of the performance of '*Rip Van Winkle*,' when in the midst of the scene where he finds himself lost in amazement at the change of his native village, as well as of himself and everybody he meets, a person of whom he is inquiring mentions the name of Washington. Rip asks, 'Who is he?' The other replies, 'What! did you never hear of the immortal George Washington, the Father of his country?' At these words, the whole audience from pit to gallery seemed to rise, and with shouting, huzzaing, clapping of hands, and stamping of feet, made the very building shake. These deafening plaudits continued some time, and wound up with three distinct rounds. To attempt to describe my feelings during such an unexpected thunder-gust of national enthusiasm, is utterly impossible. I choked, — the tears gushed from my eyes, — and I can assure you, it was by a great effort that I restrained myself from destroying all the illusion of the scene, by breaking the fetters with which the age and character of Rip had invested me, and exclaiming, in the fulness of my heart, 'God bless old Ireland!' "

That touching scene was, beyond all doubt, a fair specimen of the almost universal Irish sentiment, in regard to this country and to the founder of its greatness. That sentiment is, on numberless occasions, made evident, not in Ireland alone, but wherever Irishmen are to be found, in whatever quarter of the globe. It is in fact, unquestionable, that the Irishman looks upon America as the refuge of his race, the home of his kindred, the heritage of his children and their children. The Atlantic is, to his mind, less a barrier of separation between land and land, than is St. George's Channel. The shores of England are farther off, in his heart's geography, than those of New York or Massachusetts. Degrees of latitude are not taken into account, in the measurements of his enthusiasm. Ireland, — old as she is, and fond as he is

of calling her so,— seems to him but a part and parcel of that great continent which it sounds, to his notions, unnatural to designate as *the new world*. He has no feeling towards America but that of love and loyalty. To live on her soil, to work for the public good, and die in the country's service, are genuine aspirations of the son of Erin, when he quits the place of his birth for that of his adoption. No nice distinctions of nationality, no cold calculation of forms, enter into his mind. *Exile* and *alien* are words which convey no distinct meaning to him. He only feels that he belongs to the country where he earns his bread. His birthright has hitherto been but a birth-right of suffering. The instinct of naturalization is within his soul. And he cannot conceive that the ocean which he is crossing should be more powerful to deprive him of, than his own heart-yearnings are to secure to him, all the rights and privileges which that instinct seems to claim.

His first foot-print on the soil of the New World, is to him a virtual seal placed on the bond of his fidelity. The first breath of air he inhales is a cordial to his heart, for he knows it is the air of freedom. He looks round, in the consciousness of new-born dignity. He never before felt himself really a man; for the blight of petty proscription had, ever until now, hung over and around him. He never before knew the obligations of the word *allegiance*; for a host of small impediments stood between him and the object to which he owed it. Now he comprehends and acknowledges it. He feels himself to be identified with that to which his fealty is due. He considers himself an integral portion of the State. He is at once, in heart and soul, if not in form, a citizen.

And may it not here be asked, Is the man who thus comes into the country,— a part of it by impulse, a patriot ready made,— a fit object of doubt and odium? and might it not be more generous, just, and politic to meet half way his ingenuous views, to stretch out to him the hand of brotherhood, to join in the bond of fellowship which his heart has already ratified? Might not a fairer estimate of his character than that which generally prevails, and a higher trust in human nature itself, combine, and safely too, so as at once to invest him with the title he aspires to, and the rights which it confers, thus making him in reality what he believes himself to be, and giving him the best of all inducements to learn and uphold the real interests of the country he would thus belong to, and removing the dangerous chance of

his being misled and imposed on by the temptations which induce the emigrant, *while an alien*, to give to a faction an adherence which is due to the commonwealth?

This is, however, as will be seen, put merely hypothetically; and is thrown out, rather to induce reflection than to provoke discussion. It may however serve as an index to the tenor of what is to follow, and to the opinions of the high authorities we mean to refer to, in practically treating the question of naturalization.

The expectations of the new comer, romantic rather than reasonable, are too often cruelly checked in the first moments of his arrival. He gives his hand,—and an Irishman's hand almost always has his heart in it,—to the designing persons by whom, from various motives, he is watched for and caught up; but the cordiality of his grasp meets a cold return. He speaks in the fulness of sincerity; but no voice responds in the same key. His uncouth air, his coarse raiment, his blunders, and his brogue are certainly unattractive or ludicrous, to those who consider him only as a machine for doing the rough work of the State, or as an object of political speculation. The Irishman soon sees the fact of his position, for he is sensitive and shrewd beyond most men; and we can well imagine how keen and how bitter is his annoyance. No man is sooner than an Irishman thrown back on his own feelings. The recoil is in proportion to the exuberance; and in the same degree in which they are originally warm and social, they become morose and gloomy when thus repelled. His natural gayety overcomes this effect at times, or enables him to conceal what pains him so acutely. But the inward utterance of his disappointment is deeply echoed in his heart; and he is too prone to resent, or even avenge, a wrong done to his feelings, which, did it affect his interests alone, he would despise. “*Tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.*”

By a rapid transition, on finding himself slighted and despised, he assumes the offensive, becomes violent, throws himself into the open arms of faction; drinks, swears, joins in riots; and, fancying that the hostile outpourings, by which a “party” assails him, speak the sense of the nation at large, he withdraws his proffered sympathy; and, seeing that he is stigmatized as an alien,—for he has learned the meaning of the word,—he falls into the circle of his fellow-countrymen, becomes one of the mass of ignorance and

intemperance, which disgraces our cities, and is soon, in fact, little better than a colonist, in the land which he sought with that kind of reverence that propels a repentant sinner into the comforting bosom of the church.

Yet, though baffled and disappointed, the ardent love of liberty rarely deserts the Irish heart, and it as rarely sinks into despair. Few of the exiles return to the old country. They, in a vast majority of cases, hold fast, and work their way. Nor do they cease to love America. But they love it now, not with the holy rapture of an abstract passion, but with a practical and business-like regard, as the birth-place of their children, and the field for the exercise of their own patient industry.

Thus, in the very best aspect of his fate, the immigrant drags on, for five long and weary years, in a probation of drudgery, — which, to those who do not suffer it, seems a mere span, — in a state of manifest inferiority to the citizen, who employs, makes a tool of, or, perhaps, bribes and buys him, for purposes of electioneering debasement. This cannot, certainly, increase the alien's self-esteem, or make him more fit for the exercise of a citizen's privileges. It must, indeed, add to his sense of degradation. Year after year he becomes, no doubt, more and more acquainted with the workings of party machinery. But those years do not teach him to love the country one whit more than he loved it on the day of his landing ; and he has not that pride of conscious respectability and value, which leads the real free-man, however lowly his station, to take a wide and exalted view of public affairs. The longer the alien remains in this chrysalis state, may he not become the less suited for the enjoyment of the light and air, when he breaks his shell, expands his wings, and flies into his new political existence ? Cramped, narrowed, and prejudiced, he becomes immersed in the low tricks of the intriguers, who have pounced upon and beguiled him ; and more irritated and angry against those who, independent of strict party grounds, are adverse to him on those of his birth alone. A deep-rooted sense of wrong, and a hatred to those who do it, are nourished in his heart and instilled into his children ; and a large portion of the population is thus, for one generation at least, alienated from the rest, and driven, as it were, into a second exile from all the social advantages of citizenship. The theory

of the naturalization laws of course is, that the five years shall be years of instruction for the duties of citizenship ; but, in the actual want of such instruction, is not the effect of the delay too likely to be such as we have described ? Yet, with all this, the Irishman can hardly be made a bad or a disloyal citizen, or prevented from embracing the first opportunity to serve the country, as is proved by the readiness with which he enlists in the naval or military service.

In thus stating impartially, and with a thorough knowledge of Irish character, the effects produced on great numbers of emigrants from that country, we are by no means making a reproach, on the score of feeling, or want of feeling, against those who are ignorant of the history of Ireland, who know the character of the people only through the medium of these very exiles, and who have had no means of scanning the hearts which beat under so coarse an exterior. Every candid Irishman, who understands any portion of human nature beyond his own, will admit, that his over-ardent temperament is very likely to beget suspicion, as to his sincerity, in those who do not partake of it in any thing like the same degree ; while his familiar, off-hand, free-and-easy manners are little in accordance with the reserved and cautious habits of the majority of the American people. Taking things for granted is the curse of the generous-hearted, in all climes and at all times. No one suffers more from this too common mistake, than the Irish emigrant, who, when he finds himself deceived in his sanguine estimate of men and things, makes no allowance for those who fall below his fancied standard, and who look askance, or stand aloof, from his companionship. But this is not altogether fair on his part.

How can a cool New-Englander, for example, who has never experienced the misfortunes, or lived under a state of things, which make a man long for another country in preference to his own,—whose only idea of emigration is connected with money-making, without a single tinge of sentiment,—the “far west” of whose imaginings brings no notions but those of forests, prairies, floods, swamps, alligators, and rattlesnakes,—how can such a man place implicit faith in the tear-filled eye, the glowing cheek, the overflowing discourse of a stranger from beyond the ocean,

who, on touching the soil of that western world in which he has come to seek *his* fortune, professes to love it like the land of his birth, talks to the inhabitants as brothers, and assumes an interest in the welfare, and a pride in the greatness, of the country, as though it were, to all intents and purposes, his own? Is it not excusable, if the unconvinced Yankee looks and listens with caution to this new comer, or even if he considers him a cheat, calls his warm talk "blarney," and sets him down as in interloper?

Such sentiments as these once excited, it is difficult to dislodge them from the mind. And when the transition in the feelings of the foreigner, arising from his discovery of those sentiments, has fairly set in, a reciprocal tone of dislike and acrimony is sure to be the result. It is needless to point out how much this unfortunate state of misunderstanding is fostered, by taunts and jibes on the one hand, and by the angry spirit of disappointment superinduced on the other.

The fierce zeal with which the Irishmen, who have acquired the rights of citizenship, enter into political strife, cannot fail to excite extreme jealousy in those native partisans, who see themselves outstripped in violence, and robbed of their privileges of railing and rioting. Even the more sober and tolerant cannot endure the boisterous patriotism of those sons of Erin, nor feel quite at ease on seeing that those, who had been a few years previously the despised subjects of a foreign sovereign, should now have acquired, as it appears to them, *per saltum*, an equality of rights with the offspring of home-born republicans, who gained those glorious privileges at the cost of their lives and fortunes, in a long and doubtful struggle.

This particular cause of dissatisfaction, is common to persons of every station throughout the country. Then comes a particular discontent on the part of the working classes of the community against those hardy laborers from beyond seas, who come into the market, to do more for less money, to live in a way which lowers the general respectability of the working man, thus causing at once a decrease in wages, and in the consideration accorded by the employer to the laborer, and doing a double mischief on the score of their profits and their pride. They know not, or probably give small credit if they do know them, to the motives which induce the Irish

laborer in America, to undergo privations, that in many cases, make his condition little better than it was at home. But when it is, as it ought to be, widely understood that the Irishman braves reproach and contumely, and denies himself many of the enjoyments his earnings might procure, that he may be able to remit a portion of them to his suffering relatives in the old country, how lofty is his moral elevation ; how does his pious attachment to his distant “kith and kin” give assurance of his fidelity to the new relations he has made for himself in his new home ! How often is the fable of “The Cock and the Jewel,” acted over in this country, as well as in all other parts of the world ! What numberless instances occur of worth despised and merit trampled down, from ignorance of their value, or because they are found in ignoble places !

The naturalization of foreigners has been, from the most ancient times, a point of considerable jealousy with all civilized countries. The old Greek states indulged the most narrow views on this subject. Intermarriage was forbidden between citizens of the various republics, and no person was allowed to hold land within the territory of any state but his own. When the Olynthian republic introduced a more liberal and beneficial policy, it was considered as a portentous innovation.* And, as a most remarkable stretch of gratitude to the Athenians, for their assistance in the war against Philip of Macedon, the Byzantines infringed their ordinary strictness, and granted by law, to their allies, the right of intermarriage with their citizens, and the power of purchasing and holding lands in the Byzantine territories.

In the palmy days of Athens herself, the privilege of citizenship was deemed a very distinguished favor, and could only be obtained by the decree of two successive assemblies of the people ; and the laws enacted the penalty of death to any stranger who intruded his voice into their legislative proceedings.

The Romans of the republic were noted for their peculiar jealousy of the *jus civitatis*, or rights of a citizen. In the time of Augustus, the same anxiety existed to keep the people untainted of foreign blood. † And it was not until

* Mitford’s *History of Greece*, Vol. V. p. 9.

† Suetonius *de Aug.* § 40.

the reign of Caracalla, that, for purposes of a more extended taxation, the freedom of the city was communicated to the whole Roman world.*

From those remote days to the present time, conflicting opinions and contradictory enactments have prevailed on the subject of the naturalization and alien laws ; and there is, perhaps, no other, of equal importance to the well-being of states, which is, at this day, involved in so much doubt and delicacy. It is not necessary that we should enter at large into the consideration of a matter, which has called forth much reasoning and variety of argument from some of the most distinguished jurists of both hemispheres. The main foundation of all legislation or usage on the subject, seems to be, that almost all civilized nations admit the principle of expatriation. Cicero regarded it as one of the firmest bases of Roman liberty, that the citizen had the privilege to stay, or renounce his residence, in the state at pleasure. “*Nec quis invitus civitate mutetur ; neve in civitate maneat invititus. Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimitendi esse dominum.*”† And the principal modern writers on public law, as Grotius, Puffendorf, Wyckesfort, and Vattel, have spoken generally, though perhaps rather loosely, in favor of the right of a subject to emigrate and abandon his native country, unless there be some positive restraint by law, or he be at the time in possession of a public trust, or unless his country be in distress, or in war, or stand in need of his assistance.

It is the doctrine of the English Common Law, that natural-born subjects owe an allegiance, which is intrinsic and perpetual, and which cannot be devested by any act of their own. However repugnant this may be to our notions of the natural liberty of mankind, or however inconsistent with the principle declared by some of the State Constitutions in this country, yet, as the question has never been settled by judicial decision, and as the judges of the Supreme Court have discovered much embarrassment in its consideration, it seems admitted, that until some legislative regulations on the subject are prescribed, the rule of the Common Law must prevail ; its only relaxation being in the case of persons who for commercial purposes may acquire the rights of a citizen of an-

* Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 267.

† *Orat. pro L. C. Balbo*, c. 13.

other country, the place of domicil determining the character of a party as to trade.

The naturalization laws of the United States have been subject to great and frequent variation. The terms upon which any alien, being a free white person,* can be naturalized, are prescribed by the Acts of Congress of the 14th of April, 1802, ch. 28; the 3d of March, 1813, ch. 184; the 22d of March, 1816, ch. 32; the 26th of May, 1824, ch. 186; and the 24th of May, 1828, ch. 106.

Previously to the first of those acts, which has fixed the main point of the term of probationary residence in the country, it fluctuated considerably. In 1790, only two years' previous residence was required. In 1795, the period was enlarged to five years; and, in 1798, to fourteen years. In 1802, it was reduced back to five years, where it yet remains.

The alien is required to declare on oath before a State court, being a court of record, with a seal and clerk, and having Common Law jurisdiction, or before a Circuit or District Court of the United States, or before a clerk of either of the said courts, two years at least before his admission, his intention to become a citizen, and to renounce his allegiance to his own sovereign; the latter stipulation being admitted by the best jurists in the country to be grossly inconsistent with the generally received doctrine of intrinsic and perpetual allegiance. The prescribed declaration need not be previously made, if the alien resided here before the 18th of June, 1812, and has since continued to reside here; nor if he be a minor under twenty-one years of age, and shall have resided in the United States three years next preceding his arrival to majority. It is sufficient, that it be made at the time of his admission, and that he then declare on oath, and prove to the satisfaction of the court, that, for three years next preceding, it was his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen, and then the five years' residence, including the three years of his minority, will entitle him to admission as a citizen, on complying with the other requisites of the law. At the time of

* The Act of Congress confines the description of aliens capable of naturalization to "free white persons." It is presumed that this excludes the inhabitants of Africa and their descendants; but it may become a question, to what extent persons of mixed blood are excluded, and what shades and degrees of mixture of color disqualify an alien from application for the benefits of the act of naturalization.

his admission his country must be at peace with the United States, and he must, before one of those courts, take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and likewise on oath *renounce and abjure his native allegiance*. He must, at the time of his admission, satisfy the court, by other proof than his own oath, that he has resided five years at least within the United States, and one year, at least, within the State where the court is held ; and if he shall have arrived after the peace of 1815, his residence must have been continued for five years next preceding his admission, without his having been at any time during the five years out of the territory of the United States. He must satisfy the court, that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well-disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. He must at the same time renounce any title or order of nobility, if any he hath. The law provides, that children of persons duly naturalized, being minors at that time, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be deemed citizens. It is further provided, that, if any alien shall die after his declaration, and before actual admission as a citizen, his widow and children shall be deemed citizens.

A person thus duly naturalized becomes entitled to all the privileges and immunities of natural-born subjects, except that a residence of seven years is requisite to enable him to hold a seat in Congress, and no person except a natural-born citizen is eligible to the office of governor in some of the States, or to that of President of the United States.*

We cannot enumerate the various enactments in the several States of the Union, which regulate the particular rights and privileges of aliens or foreign-born citizens. Great toleration and latitude of construction prevail in some, while extreme rigor formerly existed in others. Before the adoption of the present Constitution, the power of naturalizing resided in the several States ; and the constitution of New York, as it was originally passed, required all persons born out of the United States to take an oath, on being naturalized, abjuring all foreign allegiance in all matters *ecclesiastical* as

* An able historical review of the principal discussions in the federal courts on this important subject in American jurisprudence, is to be found in Chancellor Kent's *Commentaries*, Vol. II. 3d New York Edit. Part iv., Sect. xxv.

well as civil. This was intended to exclude the Roman Catholics, who acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. It was law in the beginning of the last century, that every Jesuit and Popish priest who should continue in the colony after a given day, should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and, if he broke prison and escaped, he should, when retaken, be put to death. Mr. Smith, in his "History of New York," (page 111,) declares his opinion, that the law (as well as the punishment) should be perpetual. As late as 1753, the legislature of Virginia passed an act placing Popish recusants under the most oppressive disabilities. It should not however be forgotten, that the charter of Rhode Island, of 1663, declared, that "no person within the colony, at any time thereafter should be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, that do not actually disturb the peace of the colony." And, the Catholic planters of Maryland having already, in 1649, declared by law, that "no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion," they procured to their adopted country the distinguished praise of being the first of the American States in which toleration was established by law; and, while the Puritans were persecuting their Protestant brethren in New England, and the Episcopalians retorting the same severity on the Puritans in Virginia, the Catholics, against whom the others were combined, formed in Maryland a sanctuary, where all might worship and none might oppress, and where even Protestants sought refuge from Protestant intolerance.* New Jersey and Carolina followed the bright examples just quoted; and Pennsylvania, under the auspices of its celebrated founder, went to the most large and liberal extent, declaring, that "no men on earth had power or authority to rule over men's consciences in the concernments of religion;" and that "no persons, acknowledging a Deity and living peaceably in society, should be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion."

It appears from these "illustrious examples," as they are justly called by Chancellor Kent, in his "Commentaries," that various portions of this country became, even in its infant state, asylums for the enjoyment of the principles of civil and

* See Grahame's *History of the Rise and Progress of the United States.*

religious liberty, to the persecuted votaries of those principles from every part of Europe.

And such surely was the great design of Providence in the formation and fashioning of this glorious continent, and in leaving its discovery to a period when the day-break of literature and science shone on a race of men, wise enough to comprehend the blessings of such a place of refuge, and learned enough to improve its advantages; so that, when ill-fortune, or the wrong-doing of wicked rulers, in the old world, drove them from their natural home, they had one ready made for their exigencies, and of ample scope for all comers from generation to generation. Nor must the justice of Heaven be arraigned, because poverty and suffering exist in Europe, wildernesses and desolation in America. A wise beneficence has so ordained, that misery there should impel population here; and that the wilds of the New World should bring out the poor and not the rich for their redemption. For, hard-working men, tried in the furnace of ill-fortune, are the fitting stock from which to people a new world. A striking passage in Carlyle's "Miscellanies," free from his usual burlesque style, pays a fine tribute to the value of labor; and another, of plain but powerful reasoning, is to be found in a celebrated work of a living philosopher, which might be quoted as an apt illustration of the analogy between the value of physical suffering and the moral uses of adversity.*

Every philanthropist that lives must rejoice, that such a harbour of safety for the oppressed of the earth exists, as is to be found in the vast countries upon whose outermost verge our Atlantic cities stand. And, while nature itself and the force of things invite hitherward all men who can improve their civil or religious condition, how strange and deplorable is it, that societies should be formed in those very cities, so many social barriers against the primal necessity of America's actual condition! Looking at what has been already done by the aid of foreign labor, the great public works of our cities, our canals, railroads, and indeed every enterprise of physical power, and seeing what yet remains to be accomplished before this continent can have fulfilled its destiny, the interruption of immigration would be an actual decree against improvement,—a ban on civilization,—a fiat for the perpet-

* *The Constitution of Man*, by George Combe, 8th American Edition, p. 286.

ual existence of the wilderness, and for the everlasting establishment of savage life. But not more impossible was it for the despot king of old to stem the rising sea, than it is for any combination now to stop the living tide of emigration that rolls from the shores of the Old World, following the course which nature itself points out, across that ocean over which the wanderers are piloted by the joint instincts of self-preservation and love of happiness. Statistical details are not easily procured, to give, with any approach to accuracy, a statement of the increase of emigration from Europe. It has, however, been officially ascertained, that the number of foreign passengers who arrived at the port of New York alone, from the first of January to the first of November, in the year just closed, a period of ten months, is 58,000. That fact may startle even those whom it does not frighten. But,—let it act as it may on the hopes or fears of our naturalized or native population,—

“The cry is still, ‘They come !’ ”

And come they will, with bounding hearts and lofty aspirations ; and, however it may affect or disturb those who oppose, from principle or prejudice, this crowding influx of foreigners,

“nought now can change
Their nature, or revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordained
Their freedom.”

But it is, nevertheless, true, that a party is organized, and its organs fully established and in actual operation, in several of our chief cities, with the avowed object of throwing back upon the Old World, if not the millions who have already arrived in the New, at least the hundreds of thousands who are at this moment standing expectant on the European shores, waiting for circumstances or a wind,—as the birds of passage whose instinct points out their congenial resting-place across the waste of waters. The avowed object of this short-sighted party is the repeal of what they stigmatize as “the odious and destructive laws of naturalization now in existence.” They say they are “determined to enter the lists with renewed energy and increased hope.” “We have waited long enough,” is their cry ; “we have already given a sufficient precedence to party, and we will now assert the claims of country. Let every American who loves her, do the

same, and we shall soon see her redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled. But let us be divided on this most vital of all questions, *and she will fall an easy prey to the stranger.*"—*Native American*, Sunday, Nov. 8.

We place no note of admiration,—or of astonishment,—after the words we have put in Italics; but it would be difficult to express our surprise at the sentiment they embody, firmly believing, as we do, in the sincerity of the writer and of those to whose sympathies he speaks.

"An easy prey to the stranger." Had we indeed been in the perilous crisis here assumed,—had a foreign army touched our frontiers,—had hordes of aristocrats come upon us with their corrupting blandishments of rank and title, an invasion far worse to this community than the scourge of fire and sword,—we could understand the appeal of the "*Native American*," albeit we might not come into the same category. But, when we know that "*the stranger*" here denounced is the embodied mass of foreign industry that clears away our forests, tills our fields, works on our wharves, and forms one of the main features of our national strength and prosperity, we lament, while we marvel at, the fatal mistake, which makes a body of ardent patriots labor so hard to produce that "*division*" they deprecate so much, and raise a bitter enemy in the very heart of the land. We trust that the good sense of the community at large will discountenance this tendency to mischief, now that the nation requires that moral force which union alone supplies, to carry out the great purposes of domestic weal and general civilization.

Let it be remembered, that our late political revolution,—mighty in all its movements, and important in its results at home,—must also have the effect of reconciling us, as it were, to the doubts and apprehensions of the world at large. The stability of our institutions is now beyond all cavil established. No sneers, no fears can further impose on Europe, or persuade it that we were in a state of anarchy, and on the verge of social ruin. In the peaceful manner in which such a change has been accomplished, we have set a great example to the popular governments, and given a fearful shock to the despotisms. Never, since the days of our "*great rebellion*," has this country taken and maintained so proud a stand. And are we now to show a spectacle of disunion, and strive to make the edifice of our glory totter, before the cement is dry

which should consolidate it ? Let us see on what possible grounds this preposterous and suicidal attempt is to be made.

The authorities conspicuously quoted for the purpose of raising this bugbear alarm at foreign influence, are Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. High ones, no doubt,—oracles, almost, respectively to various shades of political parties in the Union.

“History and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government,” says Washington, most truly, in his memorable “Farewell Address.”

“Foreign influence is a Grecian horse to the republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance,” exclaims Madison.

“I hope we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence, political, commercial, or in whatever form it may be attempted,” were the words of Jefferson. But it would not be fair to hold him responsible for the half-expressed and hasty utterance of a sympathy with the wish of Silas Deane, “that there were an ocean of fire between this and the Old World” !

But taking at their full value the opinions so plainly expressed by these three great sages of our revolutionary history,—and joining, as every lover of his country will join, heart and soul, in the sentiment that deprecates the introduction of foreign *influence* among us,—what living man of common sense and common candor will construe it to bear upon the admission of Irish or German laboring men to the privileges of citizenship, after the term of probation prescribed by the laws? When Washington “most devoutly wished,” (to use his own emphatic expression in his letter to Mr. Morris, dated “White Plains, July 24th, 1778,”) “that we had not a single foreigner among us but the Marquis Lafayette,” did he mean any thing beyond the annoyance he experienced from the troublesome claims, for promotion and emolument, of the French and German adventurers who crowded the army? And are these patriot sentiments of repugnance against the influence of foreign monarchs, and the more fatal and insidious evils of aristocratical corruption, to be distorted into a hostility against the peasantry, the artisans, the manufacturers, or the agriculturists of Europe, bringing out with them the skill and industry which alone were wanting to

make America what it now is, and without which it never could have reached its present preëminence ! Little could those high authorities have then imagined, that their words of wisdom would ever have been inscribed on the banners which they now make so conspicuous, but which, perverted from their true sense as they are, they cannot be said to adorn.

But what were the real, general notions on this important subject of some of our most eminent men, differing in many other points of political opinion ? A memorable debate took place on the question of naturalization in the Federal Convention, on Monday, August 13th, 1789, on the motion of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Randolph, to strike out "seven years," and insert "four years," as the requisite term of citizenship, to qualify for the House of Representatives.

Mr. Williamson moved to insert "nine years," instead of seven, and observed, truly, but not quite relevantly to the class of men, who, by industry and in time, might reach the honor of being raised to a seat in Congress ; "*Wealthy* emigrants do more harm by their luxurious examples, than good by the money they bring with them."

Colonel Hamilton, meeting this truism by a broader view of the question, said ; "The advantage of encouraging foreigners was obvious and admitted ;" and he moved that the section be so altered, as to require merely "citizenship and inhabitancy," as the qualifications.

Mr. Madison seconded the motion. "He wished to invite foreigners of merit and republican principles among us. *America was indebted to emigration for her settlements and prosperity.* That part of America which had encouraged them most, had advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture, and the arts."

Dr. Franklin said ; "When foreigners, after looking about for some other country in which they can obtain more happiness, give a preference to ours, it is a proof of attachment which ought to excite our confidence and affection." And he declared himself opposed to all restrictions on naturalization.*

Washington was President at this period, and Jefferson was in France. But the opinions of the latter on the question then debated are proved by a passage in his letter to

* For the whole of this debate, see the *Madison Papers*, Vol. III.

Kosciusko on a subsequent occasion, when, speaking of the salutary labors of the first Congress during his first presidency, he says ; “ They are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries,” — in allusion to the repeal of the retrograde enactment of 1798, which had changed the term of probationary residence from five years to fourteen, in pursuance of a strong recommendation in his own message.

But, if still stronger proof is required of Jefferson’s sentiments on this point, it is to be found, and will be reverted to to the end of time, in that immortal document, the “ Declaration of Independence,” drawn up by his own hand. Enumerating the acts of tyranny of King George the Third against the colonies, he exclaims ; “ He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose, *obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners*, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new apportionments of lands.”

Further testimony can scarcely be required, beyond this great act of attainder against the sovereign, to show the impolicy, to say no more, of any such “ obstructions ” to the evident design of God himself ; or to prove that the mind must be narrow, — granting the purposes to be honest, — of those, who suppose that this “ brave New World ” was made for the sole use of those, who chance to be born on its soil. It seems a mockery, when the exclusionists declare, that they would allow “ the industrious and enterprising foreigners to enjoy the fruits of their earnings under their own vine and fig-tree ; ” but that “ the son of the bondwoman should not be heir with the son of the freewoman, in other words, that they have no title to equal privileges with us in our glorious heritage, and that, in according them every privilege short of the elective franchise, we are acting *with great and munificent liberality.*” *

We are here disposed to ask, if any “ party ” can really exist in this country so forgetful of the past, so insensible to the present, so indifferent to the future, as to wish to confine any set of free men, in any country on earth, to the privilege which is conceded to the negro slave ; ay, to the very beast of burthen ; of lying down in idleness and repose, after

* *The Spirit of Seventy-six*, Nov. 7th, 1840.

the work of the day is done. Or can any portion of a thinking community expect, that a class could be found, in the stir and bustle of this free country, to abjure the right of ever giving a vote for the representative, whose duty it is to pass laws to protect the lives of themselves and their children, the property they have purchased, and the institutions of which they form a part?

We might accumulate living authorities, in reprobation of this "munificent liberality"! But this cannot be requisite. The thing sought is as impossible as the arguments used in support of it are absurd. We shall content ourselves with one quotation more. It is from the speech of William Henry Harrison, President elect of the United States, delivered before a large meeting of the people, at Lancaster, in the State of Ohio, in the month of October last.

"I am accused, fellow-citizens," said he, "of entertaining unfriendly feelings towards foreigners, who emigrate to this country with a view of becoming citizens, and of a desire to throw obstructions in the way of their naturalization. Nothing can be more false than this charge. . . . I have been more than forty years before my country, and my votes and my speeches are a true index of my opinions, on this as well as other important subjects. If those, who thus accuse me, will point out a single vote, or any expression of mine, which can in the least support this assertion, I will agree, that I am bound to come forward and explain. But they cannot do this. No such vote was ever given by me; no such opinion expressed. On the contrary, I have ever felt the warmest sympathy with those who have fled here, from the old world, for refuge; and I have always given my support, whether in the national councils or as a private citizen, to all the laws which have passed to render their condition better, or *their naturalization MORE EASY.*"

But lest this extract from a newspaper report may be spurious, or partially incorrect, we put on record here the following frank and generous reply, from the same distinguished individual, to a respectful letter written to him by Mr. Francis J. Grund, of Philadelphia, asking his sentiments on this mooted question.

" *North Bend, September 25th, 1840.*

" Through the whole course of my political life, I am satisfied, that no sentence ever fell from my lips, which could be construed into an unfriendly feeling to the Europeans who

have emigrated hither, to enjoy the advantages which our free institutions afford, or a wish to extend the period, which is fixed by the existing laws, for their full admission to the rights of citizenship."

Foreigners and natives may thus be alike satisfied, that, during the four years' Presidency of General Harrison, no innovation, of the nature threatened, has a chance of being attempted, to any extent, or with any support that would encourage an agitation of the question.

What, then, should be done, in the mean time, by every lover of the country and of the various classes of its population, to improve and consolidate the well-being of each, so as to insure the satisfaction and happiness of the whole? Nothing, most assuredly, could tend more effectually to this great object, than the clearing away of prejudices, softening asperities, and setting the different opposing parties right with respect to the characters and objects of others. This paper was undertaken with that view, in as far as the Irish in America came under observation; and a few rapid pages of advice, rather than dictation, will close our labors in connexion with the subject.

It must be admitted, that the Irish have to encounter considerable prejudices in this country,—no matter from what causes arising,—in almost every section of the Union, though in different degrees. In some places they are openly and even violently expressed. In others, the feeling is slightly visible on the surface of common intercourse; but there is no observing Irishman, perhaps, who has not had, on some occasion or other, cause to notice the annoying fact. It must be remarked, that some of the different portions of this vast Union are much more congenial than others to the habits and feelings of Irishmen. And all seem to agree, that New England, taken on the whole, is the hardest soil for an Irishman to take root and flourish in. The settled habits of the people, the untainted English descent of the great majority, discrepancies of religious faith and forms, and a jealousy of foreign intermixture of any kind, all operate against those, who would seek to engraft themselves on the Yankee stem, in the hope of a joint stock of interest or happiness. The bulk of Irish emigration to the Western States is comprised chiefly of agricultural laborers. Rigidly excluded, in former times, from improving, by education,

his acknowledged quickness of intellect, the emigrant of this class has been hitherto fitted only for the performance of offices requiring mere muscular exertion. Without any of those incentives to improvement possessed by the educated man, the beings we now speak of were doomed to a hopeless state of social inferiority. Their incapacity to perform any work requiring the application of intellectual power, marked them out as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The high wages and good living, in comparison to what they had been accustomed to in Europe, ought to have given them more comforts, and raised them in the moral scale. But the pernicious addiction to whiskey-drinking, common to those poor people, and the highly reprehensible habit of allowing it to them in large quantities, by the contractors for some of the public works, have, until lately, kept them in a state of mere brute enjoyment, so to call their degraded condition.* This is the true source of every excess heretofore committed by Irishmen in this country. Goaded by the stimulus of ardent spirits, their natural excitability of temperament knows no bounds. The memory of their ancient feuds in the old country revived by some chance word, they rush into conflict with their fellow-countrymen, or, in the words (scarcely exaggerated) of the song,

“ Get drunk, meet their friend, and for love knock him down ; ”
and present to the amazed, amused, but disgusted American spectators a scene unparalleled, except between tribes, in open warfare, of the savages on their borders.

These broils, happily of rare occurrence at present, tended much to lower the standard of the Irish character ; but the improved deportment of those who have been long in the country, and the better description of emigrants who have of late left Ireland, decrease every day the chances of such disgraceful outbreaks ; while the certainty of complete regeneration among the millions still in the old country, under the

* “ I happened, a few days ago, to be on the line of a railroad in process of construction, where the labor was done by Irish new-comers. They are fed and lodged ; and hear their bill of fare ; — three meals a day, and at each meal plenty of meat and wheaten bread ; coffee and sugar at two of those meals, and butter once a day. *In the course of the day from six to eight glasses of whisky are given them*, according to the state of the weather. Besides which they receive forty cents a day under the most unfavorable circumstances, often from sixty to seventy-five cents.” — *Chevalier*, p. 108.

The italics in this passage are ours ; and we hope, that many native Americans, who are disgusted with Irish degradation, will remark, and some mayhap will blush at it.

miracle-working influence of their great living Apostle, is a guaranty for the moral worth of those who may hereafter come among us.

A deep and fatal error, — the main cause of which we have already adverted to, — among the immigrant Irish, is the energy with which they associate in clubs and societies, having laudable but mistaken views. The motto, “Union is strength,” is, in this case, a fallacy of the worst kind, and affords a parallel to that other union at home, which has produced nothing but weakness and discord. The more an Irishman abstracts himself from those associations exclusively Irish, the greater is his chance of amalgamation with Americans, among whom his destiny is cast, and in whose fraternity he is, after all, to look for the meed of his industrious career. It may be safely observed, that those Irishmen, who have thriven best in the United States, are those who have taken an independent stand, and, separating themselves from all clannish connexions, have worked their way alone. Such a man was the late Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, the record of whose life is, to his enterprising fellow-countrymen, an example more valuable than a legacy, and to his own memory a monument more honorable than a marble statue.

Among those native Irishmen, who are to be found running a course of similar respectability and success, should be mentioned Judge Porter, of Louisiana, who, after having sustained high offices in that State, attained and admirably adorned the dignity of Senator of the United States. Mr. James Boyd, of Boston, late a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, and the author of the admirable *Essay*, placed first on the list of publications which have served as a text for this article, may be mentioned as a living instance of the honorable standing, which industry and talent can attain for an Irishman, even in the least congenial atmosphere. In the “Address,” just alluded to, this intelligent and respected citizen observes :

“ One of the first duties, which we owe to ourselves and to the public, is to live on our own resources ; to be, like the country of our adoption, INDEPENDENT, and to feel and to live as if we knew we were so, as far as reason and the nature of things permit. Absolute independence I do not of course mean. Such a state is neither attainable nor desirable. We must live by and for each other. Still there is a degree of

comparative independence, so necessary in the present organization of society, that he, who does not possess it, can never be a free man in any country.

"Now I hold, that this state of comparative independence is within the reach of every Irishman, who comes amongst us, who is of sound body and mind. That state of things, which enables us to give something valuable to others in exchange for that which we receive from them, is the state of comparative independence ; and, to qualify us for admission into this state, nature has made ample provision. She has given us strength to labor, and freedom of limb and person. Exercising these natural gifts, every man can do something that is valuable to some other. By judiciously using the compensation thus earned, we can put ourselves in possession of all the necessaries of life to begin with ; and a prudent economy, and living within our means, will enable us, in time, to command the comforts and elegancies with which this country abounds. Possessing and enjoying, rationally, this comparative independence, we have a natural wealth, which, so long as we have health, no vicissitudes can take away." — p. 22.

This little pamphlet abounds with passages of the same good sense as the above ; and it contains advice on most important subjects of conduct, from which the settler in America might frame a code of inestimable value.

The newspapers, published almost exclusively for Irish readers, and two of which we have more particularly referred to, contain a fund of spirited articles adapted to their particular views. It is to be lamented, that these papers, acting to a certain degree on the defensive, and driven to retaliation by a series of insulting attacks, are sometimes led into a style of recrimination that never adds strength to a good cause. They are also far too sectarian in their tone, — at least if their object is to circulate beyond the pale of a sect. To do honor to their country and its patriot leaders, to their faith and its pure apostles, is in the highest degree praiseworthy. But we do not think newspapers the fitting channel for polemical disputation. Great and valuable, however, is the service done to the cause of morals and true piety by the papers now before us, in the enforcement of that principle of TEMPERANCE, which is all in all for Ireland, and to the Irish here an unspeakable blessing. In the "Boston Pilot," of December 5th, is one of those announcements, so frequent of late in it and other prints. It is as follows ;

"The cause of temperance progresses gloriously throughout the whole country. There cannot be fewer than six thousand individuals, who have taken the pledge, in the New England States. In Lowell there are nearly two thousand ; in Providence and its vicinity, upward of one thousand ; in Salem and its vicinity, one hundred and thirty ; and under the auspices of the Rev. Messrs. Wiley, Canavan, Fitzimons, Strain, Daly, O'Sullivan, Murphy, &c., a large number have enlisted under the temperance banner."

The "Pilot" then gives an enumeration, from which we find, that in the State of Pennsylvania 11,700 certificates have been issued by the society there. Delaware, Ohio, and Connecticut, it appears, on the same authority, are rapidly gaining converts to this great cause. But it is truly observed, — and "pity 't is, 'tis true," — "As long as the State and chartered societies permit the contractors to give liquor to the workmen, we cannot expect to succeed effectually in liberating all from this disgraceful yoke."

As a contrast to this deplorable habit among contractors, we have recently seen a communication from a source of the highest respectability, which says ;

"I recently conversed with a contractor engaged on the public works in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania, and he informed me, that the incorporation among the men working for him of some twenty or thirty of Father Mathew's disciples had exercised the most happy influence in promoting the reformation of some confirmed drunkards. He also assured me, that these worthy fellows would sooner part with life itself than violate the pledge."

And this latter assurance is happily borne out by advices from every quarter in which the pledge has been extensively administered.

Among the many virtuous Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, who have taken a distinguished part in urging on this moral reformation among their laboring fellow-countrymen, the Rev. James McDermott, of Lowell, stands conspicuous. His labors have been unceasing, his zeal untiring, and his success complete. This excellent priest addressed his flock on the subject of temperance, for the first time, on the 18th of June last. And between that period and the 23d of November, 1736 persons, comprising almost all the adult Irish of the city, have taken the pledge and *have kept it sacred*. We

quote from a letter of the reverend gentleman, which we cannot in common justice to him, or the subject we have taken in hand, withhold from the public.

"I know not," observes Mr. McDermott, "of one habitual Irish drunkard in this place, and there are but very few who drink ardent spirits at all. The temperate drinkers, as they style themselves, begin to join our society, one by one. A change of circumstances and condition is the happy effect of change of habit. Their homes are now clean and comfortable, and they are happy and respected by the authorities and the citizens. To the officers and board, who are a light to this city and this land, we owe a debt of gratitude, which time can never cancel. In them I have always found protection and support, and a kind coöperation in all my humble efforts to promote the happiness of the flock intrusted to my spiritual charge. To our enlightened Board of Education, the Irish citizens are deeply indebted for an honest liberality in the appropriation of the school fund, and in the provision made for the education of their children. We have one grammar and five primary schools established exclusively for the Catholic children, supplied with competent and approved teachers, who get a liberal salary; and the committee acknowledge, that the children are as docile in their deportment, and as studious, as any in the country. The Irish here are sensible of their advantages, and are determined to deserve them. Let the other cities of the Union do as our own happy Lowell has done, and the next generation will never blush at the brotherhood of an Irish American."

No exhortation can be required in addition to this plain, yet powerful statement of facts, to cause this example of Lowell and its benevolent magistrates to be extensively followed.

If, as is now admitted by all rational observers, the domestic grievances of Ireland are to be redressed by her own sons, so in like manner should the elevation of the Irish character in this country be accomplished by the same agency. The encouragement given to temperance by the Irish Catholic priests is a point of manifest first-rate importance. But other auxiliary measures, in which they cannot take so prominent a part, might effect great good. For instance, the establishment of affiliated emigrant societies, scattered throughout the country,—not for the purpose common to some of the social clubs, of keeping alive exclusive sentiments, not in harmony with those of the inhabitants at large,—but for obtaining in-

teresting statistical details, and correct information as to the best means of obtaining employment for new comers, and for distributing this information among them, so as to prevent their congregating, as they are so much in the habit of doing, in cities, where they obtain only a precarious subsistence, and to encourage their spreading themselves into the interior, with the assurance of permanent occupation and ultimate independence.

The formation of an intelligence society, of a character sufficiently comprehensive to enlist the sympathies of Irishmen of every social grade, and of every shade of religious and political sentiment, has been already proposed, and advocated with great energy and eloquence, by two Irish gentlemen, well known for their philanthropy and patriotism. The correspondence on the subject between these gentlemen, Mr. R. Hogan and Dr. W. J. McNevin, appeared in the New York "Freeman's Journal," of August 29th, 1840. The letters may be referred to as containing almost all that can be said on the general objects proposed. Dr. McNevin enters into detail on the attempts of another benevolent Irishman, Mr. Thomas O'Connor, of New York, to form a society similar to the one now, we hope, in the course of being organized; but this latter, though on the same basis, embraces, according to the plan of Mr. Hogan, a higher degree of moral elevation. The "Freeman's Journal" urges the adoption of this plan in several articles of great force, to the effect of the following extract;

"There is no possible enterprise, that could promote the happiness of the emigrant so much as the establishment of such a society. We are thoroughly persuaded of this from personal knowledge, as well as from the information of others. We have seen our fellow-countrymen thriving and happy in settlements in the interior of the country, where the industrious man would always be sure to draw from the earth the reward of his labor, and might feel assured, that, unless some extraordinary affliction should befall him, his children would never want at least the necessaries of life. This might be the condition of even the very poorest emigrant, who possesses industry, if he only knew where to go upon his arrival in this country; and we have often felt pained by the contrast which the destitute condition of many of our countrymen in this city presented, especially in the winter season. Again we call upon our benevolent fellow-countrymen to unite in this great work of philan-

thropy, and prevent or remove a vast amount of moral, intellectual, and physical degradation."

In pointing out for public approbation the plan of these gentlemen in New York, and in expressing our confident hope that it will lead to similar attempts in the other Atlantic cities, we must not omit to notice another praiseworthy and a most successful effort to ameliorate the condition of the Irish in America. We allude to the agricultural colony, so to call it, established by Bishop Fenwick, of Massachusetts, near the town of Lincoln, and about eighty miles from Bangor, in the State of Maine. The design of this settlement would appear to have been formed on the model of the colonies established by the Dutch, in Belgium, during the fifteen years of forced union to that country, between 1815 and 1830. But even if not, the details of those abortive attempts, — excellent in design, but greatly mismanaged, like every thing in the way of practical government tried by the late King of Holland, — might be advantageously studied, as a warning of the evils to be avoided in the progress of the undertaking. These details are to be found in the statistical works of Mr. Ducpetiaux, of Brussels, one of the most industrious and useful of the European writers in this particular branch of social economy.

The Irish settlement in Maine was begun about five years ago. Having purchased from the State a township in a district of country, in which the advantage of profitable timber was made subservient to that of a fertile soil and favorable locality, the Bishop caused the tract to be laid out in lots adapted to the means of agricultural emigrants, who were admitted as purchasers, in small proportions, at the original price of the land. Settlers were not accepted indiscriminately, or without due inquiry as to character and capability. A church and school house were erected ; and measures were taken for the progressive extension and improvement of the colony.

It now consists of about sixty families, containing three hundred persons, all Irish ; and from its complete success and the high state of moral discipline adopted by the people, it is likely to become a model for all such establishments, and an example, which it is to be hoped will by and by be extensively followed in the various States of the Union.

It is right and fitting that this great reformation movement

should have its commencement in the source where it originated, in a circle of enlightened Irishmen, and in the great city which forms the head-quarters of emigration. But every motive of genuine nationality, apart from the prejudices which degrade it, calls on the native citizens to encourage and coöperate in the plan. This was extensively the case in regard to the society set on foot by Mr. O'Connor, as appears from the statement of Dr. McNevin ; but some lukewarmness on the part of the city authorities seems to have thrown a chill upon the benevolent efforts of individuals, in an undertaking too vast in its benefits, and too universal in its object, not to require the most cordial aid of official patronage throughout the land.

Although every project for the information and protection of emigrants must naturally embrace the new comers of all nations, still it is to the Irish more particularly, that these efforts should be directed. They constitute a large proportion of the whole amount of immigrants ; and, with a due regard to the exigencies of this country, and the aptitude of Irishmen to supply them, it must be conceded that no foreigners reach these shores, whose services are more required, or whose labors are more richly remunerative to the land of their adoption ; who sympathize so entirely with its institutions, or who could be with such facility made of the country, while they were admitted *into* it.

The Germans, from the nature of their education, are accustomed more to the study of ancient feelings, than to the indulgence of present impulses. Their theories are founded on old forms of government, and old notions of society. They have but little practical experience ; and the consequence is a mass of abstractions in the national mind. It possesses, however, from this tone of education, a great simplicity. The sensations of the people are not overstrained or overexcited, as is the case in countries such as Ireland, where a perpetual agitation is kept up. And consequently great elements of good are contained in the public character, if they were properly brought out. But, by the policy of the various governments, they become inert and dull ; and the people, unaccustomed to the exercise of their power, bend before the tyranny, or at least resolve to fly from what they despair of being able to resist. They seek a shelter from the storm, rather than an open field for exertion. And

it is on this principle that they emigrate to America, and on their arrival shun the great marts of commerce and corruption, and retire to the quietude and seclusion of remote rural settlements.

The Irishman, on the contrary, is an ardent, enterprising, and, above all, a social animal. He loves to work, — or, if need be, to fight, — his way through life. And, if left to himself on arriving in America, he would not settle in, but bustle through the existence of, some populous city. He has been all his life accustomed to a densely-peopled neighbourhood. His little island, — not larger than our State of Maine, — contains eight millions or more of inhabitants, half as many as the whole of our great Union. To make such a man love solitude, or seek the wilderness, — to teach him

“To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,
Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,”

or to make him comprehend the abstract meaning of the fine distinction in Cowper's sublime and simple sentiment, —

“God made the country, and man made the town,”

you must hold out great inducements, appeal rather to his pride than his reason, and arouse him to the glory of conquering difficulties, rather than soothe him by the prospect of enjoying repose.

Nothing is of more importance to men who are made for the enjoyment of certain rights, than a due understanding of what they comprise. “Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of man,” says the Declaration of American Independence ; but, without irreverence to that great charter of freedom, it may be observed, that a definition of the clause might be a puzzling task to the most profound jurist. The natural rights of man, a phrase in everybody's mouth, may be taken strictly to mean the rights of man in a state of nature. But this would by no means satisfy those theorists, who, confounding all the principles of society and government, build structures of law and justice (so to call them) no more solid than the air-built castles of the day-dreamer. A serious study of the subject is not within the reach of every individual ; but, surely, an utter neglect of it is unpardonable in those who take on themselves the office of instructing the public mind. It is, then, of absolute necessity to the common weal, that persons properly

suited to the task should be appointed to give a certain degree of general information to all foreigners who seek this country with a view to final settlement. Instead of leaving them, as they have hitherto been left, exposed to the designs of schemers, as ignorant and far more culpable than they are, they should be met on their arrival by qualified agents, at once put on their guard, taken by the hand, set in the right road of conduct, gradually instructed in the primary political knowledge adapted to their capacity, and warned against the evil ways into which so many, from want of those precautions, have fallen.

These, and many other obvious duties, would, we presume, be gladly undertaken by persons of all political opinions and religious persuasions, for a fair remuneration. We have every probability for the future, of seeing a far improved class of Irish in every emigrant ship which arrives ; and the pleasure of instructing the intelligent disciples of Father Mathew will be proportioned to their respectability. A premium for temperance might be established, in a diminution of the probationary term at present required before naturalization, proportioned to the period during which, according to satisfactory proof, the postulants have inflexibly held firm to the pledge ; and thus, the benevolent wishes of General Garrison, for making the naturalization of foreigners "*more easy,*" be gradually brought into effect.

But our limits do not permit us to dwell longer on this subject. A portion of the space still left us cannot be better filled, than by the insertion of the following letter on the state of Ireland, which lately appeared in the New York "*Journal of Commerce,*" from the London correspondent of that paper. More recent accounts confirm this statement in every particular, and leave no doubt, that the number of Father Mathew's disciples at present amounts to nearly three millions of persons.

"London, Sept. 31st, 1840.

" Ireland is enjoying a state of perfect repose, and may be truly said to be in a condition of most uninterrupted tranquillity. It is true, Mr. O'Connell is stoutly advocating repeal, and agitating for his recruits to his associations ; but this proceeding is one of the safety-valves, and, therefore, cannot be looked on as either ominous or dangerous. The various circuits of the Judges are now over in Ireland, and, from the re-

turns to the Home Office, it appears that there has been less crime than ever known. Those ruffian offences, brutal outrages, and atrocious murders, which formerly swelled the calendar of assizes throughout Ireland, have now, happily, ceased to exist. In several towns, but a few prisoners were for trial, and those on charges of a minor character, and in three large cities there was not a single prisoner to be placed before the judge. This state of things, a change so truly cheering and delightful, arises from the great confidence which the masses have in the present ministry and the Irish executive, and also from the mighty moral effects of the progress of tee-totalism.

"The tee-total movement is working a complete moral revolution in Ireland. All the accounts that we receive are confirmatory of the fact, that there are scarcely a dozen instances among the millions who have taken the pledge, of parties having relapsed into their former habits. In all the large cities, the effects are described as most curious ; and, in Dublin, whole streets are devoted to the selling of clothes. The rags that formerly fluttered from the person of the drunkard, have given place to goodly garments ; and butchers, bakers, bacon and butter factors, are increasing in numbers, and in wealth. Spirit stores are closing daily, and large distilleries are failing regularly about one a month. The great apostle of temperance, who has achieved this magic change, continues to devote all his energies to the cause, and is hourly increasing the number of his disciples, in manner and multitude perfectly astounding. Indeed, we must admit that Father Mathew is, without exception, the most remarkable man of his day ; and, if he should succeed in rescuing his countrymen from their hitherto degraded and almost hopeless condition, and fix them in the course which they have adopted, he will, in my opinion, be entitled to more honor than the greatest general or statesman that ever existed."

In conclusion, we would seriously recommend to the consideration of all of our readers, the following truly beautiful passage from Mr. Goodrich's article, already quoted from.

"Let us by no means join in the popular outcry against foreigners coming to our country and partaking of its privileges. They will come, whether we will or no ; and is it wise to meet them with inhospitality, and thus turn their hearts against us ? Let us rather receive them as friends, and give them welcome to our country. Let us, at least, extend the hand of encouragement and sympathy to the Irish. Their story, for centuries, is but a record of sorrow and oppressions. They

have been made to feel, not only how cruel, but how universal are the miseries which follow a bad government ; and, even when leaving their native soil, they are obliged to carry with them the bitter memory of their country's wrongs. A people of quick and ardent sympathies, of a poetical and romantic love of country, they are, in exile, ever looking back to the Emerald Isle, with mingled sorrow and sickness of heart. How heavy is the burden which such bosoms must bear, as they wander over distant lands, in the bitter consciousness that their country is the desponding victim of oppression ! Shall not those who come to our shores, afflicted with such sorrows, find in the friends and sharers of freedom, both welcome and release ? Let us beware of adding to their wrongs. Let us remember, that there is other tyranny than that of chains and fetters, — the invisible but cruel tyranny of oppression and prejudice. Let us beware how we exercise this towards the Irish ; for it is wicked in itself, and doubly mischievous in its tendency. It injures both its subject and its object, and brings no counterbalancing good.

" Let us especially be guarded against two sources of prejudice, to which we are particularly liable. In the first place, in our personal experience, we are familiar with the most ignorant and unfortunate of the Irish nation. We see, in servile employments, those who have been exposed to all the debasing influences that degrade mankind. Is it fair to draw from these a standard, by which to judge of the whole people ? Let us rather ask ourselves, where there is another nation, who have been so long trampled down by oppression ; who have been born in poverty, and nursed in adversity ; who have inherited little from the past but sorrow, and can bequeath nothing to the future but hope ; — where is there a people so wronged, that has yet preserved so many virtues ? How gallantly, indeed, do Irish wit, and cheerfulness, and hospitality, and patriotism, ride on the wreck of individual hopes, and sparkle through the waves of adversity !

" Let us beware of prejudice from another source. We read English books, papers, and pamphlets, portraying the Irish as an untamable race, only to be ruled by the harsh inflictions of power. Let us, Americans, see that our minds are not driven from the moorings of justice, by this sinister current in which they are placed. Influenced by such considerations as these, let us, by all fair means, bring about a good understanding between the Irish emigrants and society. Let us deal gently with them, even with their errors. Thus we shall win their confidence. Thus they may be persuaded to take counsel of the good and the wise, and not throw them-

selves into the arms of those, who flatter their vices, and minister to their passions but to use and abuse them.

" Let this reasonable and just policy mark our conduct towards the grown up Irish among us ; and, in regard to their children, let us, individually and collectively, use our best endeavours to bestow upon them the benefits of education. But let us remember, that even an attempt to educate the Irish will fail, if it be not founded in a recognition of the elements of their national character, quick perception, a keen sense of justice, and ready resentment of wrong. If over these, prejudice, suspicion, and pride have thrown their shadows, let us adapt the instruction we would offer, to the light they can bear. In this way, a numerous people may be redeemed from misery to happiness, and rendered a blessing to our country. Let us thus deal with those Irish, who have left their native home to find a dwelling among us ; and, in regard to the millions that remain in " the green and weeping island," let us hope for the speedy dawn of a brighter and better day. A youthful queen now sways the sceptre of Britain ; and what may not humanity hope from the generosity of youth, and the heavenly charity of Woman ? " — *Token*, pp. 173 – 177.

Having thus brought before our readers, to the best of our ability, a fair statement of Ireland as it is, and Irishmen as they are, and such ample extracts from the wisdom and eloquence of others, on a vital subject of domestic policy, we have here only to express our hope, that they will sink into the public mind, like seed dropped into a kindly soil, and that the product will be a rich harvest of philanthropy, — " peace on earth, good will towards men."
